THE NEW REPUBLIC

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

A Minow Is Swimming

★ Try as we can some days we can't get so gloomy over affairs as we know we should. Tension has eased a bit over Berlin; we think Mr. K's big bombs a sign of weakness, not strength; we honestly don't think there will be a nuclear war, and the weather is crisp. We wondered if Dean Rusk felt the autumnal zip too, as we tailed his big Cadillac (License No. 120; "bomb" tailfins) down to work Sunday morning, chauffeur and guard on the front seat. Then when he turned off for the State Department (to pick up the Berlin crisis) we passed the White House, gleaming against the snapping blue sky. We know we should be wringing our hands responsibly these days with other editorial writers but optimism keeps breaking through.

The arrival of bomb fallout from Novaya Zemlya reminds us that we also here at home pollute our rivers with garbage and our airwaves with trash. Dropping lethal dust from the sky is a crime against civilization; so too, we think, is our present use of the greatest educational medium ever discovered, the TV-radio waves. If there is one thing that astounds foreign friends of the US and rejoices enemies it is to see these public vehicles debased by a bunch of money-grabbers while the public sits passively by. In these polluted waters, thank heaven, among the commercial leviathans a little Minow is swimming. More power to him!

If you went to a community and found comic books in the library, bingo in the classrooms and beer cans behind the altars you would say, "Something is desperately wrong." But here in America we have handed over the greatest educational mass medium of the day to the Bowel Pill Men. They are debasing good taste and our standard of values. Even in their own interest the TV-radio trusts are defeating themselves. They have exploited the average, so-called "five-minute" newscast till it is mostly advertising.

One simple reform at the start would cure about half the trouble. Advertisers should be irrevocably, utterly, finally severed from sponsorship of programs. They have no business in this field; they should have no control or say over what is, or is not, shown.

Even more irritating are interruptions of programs – even the finest – by advertisements picked to fall just at the moment of suspense or artistic climax. National acceptance of this convention is worse, in a more subtle and deeper way, than letting the Bowel Pill Men decide what shall or shall not be shown. Because this represents the ultimate contempt for art, displayed publicly, and a nation that degrades art perishes.

The other night we watched Jane Austen's "Persuasion" treated in this obscene way and decided that maybe the country is about ripe for a 50 megaton bomb after all. The spectator is supposed to cherish good will for Acme Liver Syrup that brings him Shakespeare. What arrogance! – what right has Acme Liver Syrup on our airwaves anyway? They are airwaves that do not belong to him, or to Columbia Broadcasting but to you and me. CBS, NBC, ABC and the rest are Lady Bountifuls giving us a basket of goods which we already own.

Newton Minow's FCC has now taken away two TV channels from unworthy owners, for the first time in history. We hope there are a lot more. A Senate subcommittee this fall is going to investigate TV commercials. Anything it does to them won't be enough. The industry has had a chance to clean house and refuses. So far as we are concerned its public image is mud.

Fast Thinking

★ Former Secretary of State Christian Herter gave a closely reasoned talk here last week about a subject that is going to agitate the US, we guess, for the next 20 years – world trade. He started with two assumptions, there will be no shooting war, and the cold war will continue for our lifetime. The Soviet then, he said, has two objectives, to keep industrial nations apart economically and politically and to win over undeveloped or "contested" countries. The Soviet bloc has a third of the world's population; the contested countries one-half; the industrial countries only one-sixth though they have two-thirds of the industrial capacity.

For mere self-survival and to maintain improvement in the contested countries, Herter said, the industrialized West must seek closer trade and political unity. This is vastly helped, he thinks, by the Common Market and the "revolutionary" step of Britain's proposed entrance.

Next year America's Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act expires if not renewed, Herter continued, and it will bring us face to face with a crucial tariff decision that may decide our relation to the Common Market. It demands the fastest kind of thinking in the shortest possible time, with the protectionist wolves howling alongside. Herter hasn't a doubt what the decision should be. He is a notably impressive figure as he enunciates it – tall, earnest, gentle: "We are going to have to ally ourselves in some form with the Common Market."

Notes

★ Kennedy has taken a conservative tack in several respects recently, he sent top officials to try to conciliate Big Business at the Business Council's annual conference, and he proposes budget cutbacks while unemployment is still about 7 percent. . . . Most liberal economists oppose the cutback. . . . The *Valley News* of El Cajon, Cal., reports a hillbilly number now popular celebrating the John Birch Society: "You cannot trust your neighbor/Or even next of kin;/If Mommy is a Commy/ You've got to turn her in . . ." The teen-age magazine *Mad* parodies *Reader's Digest* this month: some of the articles: "We are Losing Idaho and Montana to the Russians," "What Your Dog Should Know About Sex," "What To Do When the 20th Century Comes (by Barry Goldwater)," "Capital Punishment Can Be Fun," "The DAR – A Communist Menace" . . . Personally, we think the best social satire appearing these days is in the Volkswagen ads spoofing the big cars.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 145 Number 19 Issue 2453 November 6, 1961*
Published weekly (except for omissions of four summer issues) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Phone: FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 25c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address.* *Copyright© 1961, by Harrison-Blaine, Inc. Item g. Second class Imprint, reading Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.

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Going But Not Gone

EDWARD P. MORGAN: *What can you tell us, sir, of this government's views now toward the sticky situation in Vietnam . . .?*

EISENHOWER: *I can't give you any final answer because, as you know, it is still under discussion. We have called General Collins back here, a man in whom we have the greatest of confidence, and who has been right in the thick of things out there, and who has been supporting, of course, Premier Diem. Now, there have occurred lots of difficulties. People have left the Cabinet, and so on. . . . It is almost an inexplicable situation, at least from our viewpoint. . . . What the exact terms of our future policy will be, I can't say.*

– Presidential Press Conference, April 27, 1955.

Again, an American General returns from Vietnam to report to the President on what might still be done to prevent the "miracle of Vietnam" from becoming the debacle that is being prophesied. A number of technicians and former younger supporters of President Diem have either quit or lost hope that any changes for the better can come from the narrow, family clique that rules in Saigon. Many Americans who publicly applauded Diem while privately pressuring him for "reforms" have become disgusted and openly criticize this "democrat turned mandarin." And from among those who were loudest in defense of Diem as a "hard-line" anti-Communist comes the call for his removal (in some unspecified way). The emergence of anti-Diem "neutralists" and the renewed stirrings of opposition groups in exile are an indication the regime is weakening, and that the "outs" sense the possibility of re-entering Vietnamese politics, or perhaps serving as intermediaries with the Communists in negotiating a national coalition, as Souvanna Phouma has done in Laos.

Let it be noted, however, that although Communist pressure has been intensified in the past three months, the main outline of the picture in Vietnam has altered little in five years. The US objective today is what it was on October 25, 1954, when General Eisenhower said that he expected the Diem Government to effect "needed reforms" in exchange for more US aid, and when he said that the purpose of our aid was to help Vietnam develop "a strong viable state capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means." (Since then, the US has put about $2 billion into this effort, only $50 million of which has been in the form of loans.) By

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January 20, 1955, General Collins, our Special Ambassador to Vietnam, felt that there was a "fifty-fifty chance that Southern Vietnam can remain free," because Diem had made "general progress" toward military, political and economic reforms. The following month, Lt. Gen. John W. O'Daniel took charge of training Diem's 217,000-man military establishment.

By November of 1960, the alarm bells again went off: Vietnam's Defense Minister charged that heavily armed Communist North Vietnamese regular troops had crossed Laotian territory "to attack South Vietnam directly." (Roughly the same report appears in Joseph Alsop's column of October 27, 1961.) What are known variously as "terrorists," Communists, or Viet Cong guerrillas have infiltrated and control more and more of South Vietnam, and are, in the words of the *Observer* (London) correspondent in Saigon, "virtually invulnerable because the army simply has not the resources to surround the zones and sweep them clear."

But although South Vietnam has been going, going, for some time, it is not yet gone. The situation could be described as desperate but not hopeless. What, then, can be done?

The US could gradually disengage. Those who recommend this say things have deteriorated beyond repair, that there is nothing solid to build on, that the Diem regime has dissipated whatever leadership it once had, in the towns as well as among the peasants; and that largely because of Diem, no alternative political leadership exists. If Diem has not been able to unite his people in their own defense, then, according to this view, the US cannot do it for him. We cannot win the war the French lost; we cannot attempt in Vietnam what the Russians did in Hungary; nor can we any longer save Vietnam for the West by partial measures (*ie*, more aid). We had better cut our losses.

What Would It Take?

At the other extreme are those who insist that either we stand up and fight now or fall later, that the US cannot tolerate a defeat here because it would accelerate the flight into the Communist orbit of all Southeast Asia – Indonesia, the new Malay State, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Burma, Singapore. The line *can* be held, however, if there is a prompt infusion of US fighting men. Such intervention – so say the "hard-boiled" – would show Asians that we really mean business and are prepared to take grave risks. The political aim of what would be virtually a military occupation by the US would be, at least in the beginning, to restore stability not merely to Vietnam but to Laos and Cambodia.

The program of the "hard-boiled" calls for putting in a sizable number of presently-available US troops, transport and military equipment; for staying there some years; for getting rid of Diem if necessary; and also, in anticipation of a prolonged struggle, for stepping up the draft in this country, the calling up of additional reserves, a quick build-up of our merchant marine. The possibility of large-scale counter moves by Communist China is discounted, for it is claimed that formidable logistics difficulties stand in the way of moving "volunteers" into Vietnam, and that the Chinese have enough troubles at home.

It is recognized this would involve us in a war unlike any that we have ever fought. The Army has fought Indians and occupied defeated enemy territory. The Marines have fought banana wars, and all the services have fought various kinds of conventional war. Vietnam would be a vexing combination of all of them. The French in 1946 estimated that it would take one-half million French troops to pacify Indochina. What it would take to "pacify" even South Vietnam today – after seven years of consolidation of Communist Viet-Minh power in the north and with Chinese and Russian arsenals available – can hardly be projected in a tidy statistical estimate.

For in Vietnam, US troops would face three kinds of enemies: first, the real "farmer-by-day-fighter-by-night" types. Lightly armed, poorly trained, they operate in their own immediate area; they draw their recruits, support and intelligence from their relations, friends and neighbors. Then there are the guerrillas who are trained and infiltrated from the north and the west. Many, if not most of these are South Vietnamese, but they present a far tougher military problem since they are better equipped and receive a considerable part of their operating support and guidance from professional leaders who are infiltrated with them. Third, there are the specially-trained troops who may or may not be indigenous to South Vietnam and who are infiltrated across the border to reassemble near their selected points of action. They use guerrilla tactics only as circumstances may require. They operate as regular military units, and as they become more securely consolidated they may be supplied with heavy equipment including light and medium artillery.

If US troops were made available to help counter such a three-pronged offensive, certain consequences within the US itself should be pondered. No tidy solution, no clear-cut "victory" is possible in this kind of fighting. And ever since Korea, the American people have been profoundly troubled by "victories" which turn out to be partial. A prolonged jungle war and loss of American lives would probably breed further frustration of the sort that gave rise to Joe McCarthy. This kind of popular reaction to an indecisive struggle could lead in either of two directions: to a new isolationism because "we are getting nowhere"; or, a panicky demand to "get it over with" which, in its crudest

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form, means dropping the H-bomb on Hanoi or Peking.

The American people would also have to be prepared for more unpopularity in Southeast Asia and for cordial loathing by the very people we would be trying to help. The Hessians were hated by the colonists in our revolutionary war: In Vietnam, the "Hessians" shooting down Asians would not only be foreign, they would be racially alien. Effective US military occupation of South Vietnam would require constant policing of the daily life of the people, the control of their movements, the control of their trade.

More of the Same, But Better

A third alternative for the US, and the one most likely to be adopted, is stepped-up aid and advice, but no troops other than technical advisers. This is the policy of more of the same, but better. It was hinted at by President Diem in an interview he gave a week ago in Saigon. He asked for more technical aid and training, increased mobility for his 160,000-man army, not for US troops. He dwelt particularly on the need for more troop-carrying helicopters and a larger number of small armed river craft to beat back Viet Cong units that may prey on transport of rice by water. He would like more barbed wire, dry rations. And he has said that there must be more young, educated Army conscripts.

Might a policy of "more, but better" turn the tide? Perhaps, if the US does not tie its hands with a narrowly military policy. More arms and more specialized military training have not been and will not be enough. No rescue operation can be brought off unless there is an overhaul of the administrative machinery and a new sense of national purpose within Vietnam itself.

Time magazine on August 4, 1961, stated that Diem had approved "every recommendation" in the report that was prepared for President Kennedy in early August by a State Department task force headed by Eugene Staley of the Stanford Research Institute. The report, it is said, would "commit the US to the most detailed program of economic and social reform the US had ever undertaken in Southeast Asia." This is not the first time Diem has approved recommendations for reform, or spoken of decentralizing his administration and letting go some of his power, but little has ever come of it. Even the military proposals in the Staley report remain to be implemented: better pay for the Vietnamese civil guards, better equipment and their transfer out of their blockhouses to the defense of the villages; transforming a large part of the Vietnamese army into a ranger type organization to fight guerrillas rather than having them man an imaginary line that has been breached by infiltration and across which there is little likelihood of a frontal assault; a resolute decision by Diem to cease interfering with military operations, allowing the Vietnamese army to use its troops against the Viet Cong; the drafting of more soldiers to meet the augmented forces of the enemy; restraint by the Army, which in the past has alienated the peasantry by terroristic tactics in its search for the elusive Viet Cong.

If a policy of "more, but better" is to have a chance, heavy pressure would have to be applied on Diem to begin carrying out a new social and economic policy, the first step in which is a determined effort with US help to repair the costly ravages of the recent flood. In addition, Diem's policy of driving the peasants from their land into the "agrovilles" (where they can be more easily defended) would have to be modified. The "agrovilles" have engendered strong peasant resistance, in part because of heavy-handed, often brutal local officialdom. Finally, if the South Vietnamese are to be mobilized, the US will have to use its leverage to get a government of national unity as a political counterpart to the "emergency" Diem has already proclaimed: not personal rule but wide political union making use of many talents. For example, the 35 percent of the voters in Saigon who voted against Diem in the elections last year are today completely cut off from representation in the government. The sharing of responsibility with the opposition, giving them a stake in the survival of the regime, is a practical necessity.

On the Agenda for Nehru

When the President in his State of the Union address bracketed "the soaring idealism of Nehru" with Churchill's eloquence and de Gaulle's steadfastness he seemed to be trying to tell the world of a hope that henceforth there would be closer ties between neutralist New Delhi and Washington. But in the intervening months the Indians have found that on one national security issue of overriding importance to them – US military aid grants to Pakistan – the new Administration is no different from the old. And the President in his discussions (November 6-8) with Prime Minister Nehru will no doubt let slip a hint of the doubts about Indian bonafides which have been circulating in Washington in the wake of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon's recent behavior in the United Nations.

Speaking chronologically, the present cooling off in Indo-US relations had its origin in the weeks preceding the visit of President Mohammed Ayub Khan of Pakistan. The Indians had come to realize that the White House had approved the delivery to Pakistan of F-104 supersonic jet aircraft and certain sophisticated weaponry (notably the Sidewinder missile) hitherto absent in South Asia. But the official line was to wait and see how Mr. Kennedy would handle General Ayub. The Pakistani leader's boasts on his return of new

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military acquisitions and promises of more to come thrust the military aid controversy back into the political arena in New Delhi. Pro-Communist and Hindu Right propagandists pointed to the passage in the Ayub-Kennedy communique stating that military aid was being given so that Pakistan could "maintain forces for the preservation of its security" – omitting the standard references to Communist aggression as the sole threat to Pakistan security recognized as legitimate under the aid agreement.

But to US diplomats, this chronological record does not explain a seemingly irrepressible pro-Soviet bias on the part of Mr. Menon which antedates this Administration. US grievances center to some extent on Menon's alleged behind-the-scenes promotion of the "troika" plan for the UN Secretariat, in contravention of nominal Indian policy (a complaint to the Prime Minister by Ambassador Galbraith is said to have had a modifying effect). Still more emotion has been aroused by Menon's persistent tendency to justify the Soviet resumption of nuclear testing. In a much-discussed New Delhi news conference on September 14, India's delegate at the UN went to the absurd length of saying that US underground tests might be more dangerous than Soviet explosions in the atmosphere because they could involve contamination of the soil. Though deploring the Soviet resumption, he canceled himself out by calling this deplorable "whatever the provocation," thus suggesting that there had, in fact, been some provocation; and he made the suggestion unmistakable in an October 20 address at the UN insinuating the US had been planning its own test resumption anyway. (The UN speech referred to the possibility that water supplies might be contaminated by underground tests, citing as the "authority" for such a view "the author and philosopher, Dr. Corliss Lamont.") His passing parenthetical reference to the "most regrettable and catastrophic" decision of the Soviets was blunt, but it was smothered in what was essentially a sarcastic resume of pro-testing statements by certain Americans outside of the Administration – with no reference whatsoever to well-known test opponents (notably science adviser Jerome Weisner) now in the White House.

What is most unfortunate about the controversial Mr. Menon is that he is prompting even relatively sympathetic Americans to wonder if India is not playing a deliberately Janus-faced game – with Nehru, Finance Minister Morarji Desai and other leading personalities engaged in soothing Washington's sensibilities while Menon is given leeway to talk as he wishes for Russian consumption. The interpretation may be unfair, but it is taking hold in high places. India can no more escape the consequences of the behavior of its spokesman at the UN than the US can expect India to forgive and forget military assistance to Pakistan.

Party Line

McCone on Fallout

On October 15, 1956, John A. McCone, recently appointed as the interim Director of the CIA but then a trustee of the California Institute of Technology, sent a letter to Dr. Thomas Lauritsen – one of 10 scientists at Cal Tech who in '56 issued an endorsement of Adlai Stevenson's proposal for a moratorium on H-bomb tests. In his letter, Mr. McCone said: "Your statement is obviously designed to create fear in the minds of the uninformed that radioactive fallout from H-bomb tests endangers life. However, as you know, the National Academy of Sciences has issued a report this year completely discounting such danger. Also you know from your close contact with the tests that one of the most important objects of them is to develop techniques for reducing fallout. The tests are to be applauded rather than criticized on this particular ground."

Last week, the General Assembly of the United Nations, over strong Soviet bloc protest, appealed to Mr. Khrushchev to call off the then-pending Soviet test of the superbomb which was to be detonated October 30. He shrugged it off as "imperialistic propaganda." But could he not have replied in the exact words used by Mr. McCone in his letter to Dr. Lauritsen?

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Young Ted to the Senate?

It is a good bet that when November next rolls around, a member of one of three political dynasties in Massachusetts will ascend to the Senate seat vacated last year by John Fitzgerald Kennedy. The three young men with a far-away look are Edward M. (Ted) Kennedy, not yet old enough to run for the seat at 29, but a brother of the President; Edward J. McCormack, Jr., eldest of the three candidates at 38, son of "Knocko" McCormack and nephew to the McCormack who will probably be the next speaker of the House; and Republican George Cabot Lodge, 34, who as both a Cabot and a Lodge needs no introduction.

The fight that would bring out the Irish in Boston is the one between Kennedy and McCormack. Though both are of the new button-down collar order, the father of one and the uncle of the other both could dig up a couple of brick throwers for the campaign. Both Kennedy and McCormack have told close political friends that they are set to make the race. Some doubt McCormack's sincerity; he has never been a bold politician and many feel that he keeps his nose pressed tight to the Senate window pane so that he ultimately will win the support of the Kennedys if he backs away from a contest with Ted and runs for the governorship.

The only problem for the Kennedys is a simple one – can Ted win? None of them is overly worried about breaking a few McCormack bones. They did it before in 1956. The then junior Senator from Massachusetts took on John McCormack that year for leadership of the Massachusetts Democratic Party and whipped him. Besides, President Kennedy knows he has some leverage in 1961. Uncle John wants the Speakership of the House, and he quakes at the thought of White House blocking plays.

Ted has been moving around Massachusetts as though the primary were tomorrow. Democratic leaders in the state have virtually been ignored. In an apartment near the State House, which was once the President's voting residence, he has a battery of secretaries answering telephones, typing thank you notes, lining up speaking dates. He seems to relish campaigning. During the day he is on the job as Assistant District Attorney in Suffolk County (Boston) but his evenings are filled with speaking engagements. He has a stock of canned chestnuts for his audiences as an opener, and then he moves into 10 or 15 minutes of serious talk about his trips to Africa and South America. He is a far better speaker than was his brother when he launched his political career for a House seat in 1946.

But one thing has the Kennedys worried. It is the growing talk of a political dynasty. Sometime between now and January, Lou Harris, the official poll taker for the Kennedys, will take a squad of men into Massachusetts and find out just how deep this runs. If the poll tips against Ted, he will probably run for some less august office – which certain observers who question his intellectual stature think would spare the President some possible embarrassments. McCormack, of course, will then be waiting to pick up the marbles.

Like Ted, Edward McCormack is somewhat of a maverick. The McCormacks have always had their own political machine and have tended to thumb their noses at building a strong Democratic Party in the state. But Edward is no novice. He worked his way up the political ladder from the Boston City Council to two terms as Attorney General in the state. Today he is in the middle of a series of scandals that have shocked the state. If he sits them out he will be criticized; if he moves in he must shake up a number of officials with political power and lose their support. Thus far, he has remained on the fence, to the satisfaction of no one.

Separated Brothers

At the time John XXIII first spoke of his concern with unity of all Christians (in the monastery of the Church of St. Paul Outside the Walls, Paul being the Apostle to the Gentiles), it was widely assumed that he was convening a Second Vatican Council to deal directly with unity; it was even suggested that representatives of the confessions to which Catholics now refer as "separated brothers" (no longer as heretics) might participate in the discussions. Subsequent clarification has altered this impression. Invitations will very likely be issued to non-Catholic observers, but the purpose of the Council is only indirectly related to the search for Christian unity. Rather, it is to engage in an inner purification and realization of the Church, so that it may offer more of what the Pope has termed "a gentle invitation" to non-Catholic Christians. The word – which defies translation – most frequently used to describe the end toward which the Council will strive, is *aggiornomente*, to renew the life of the church in the light of new circumstances.

When Vatican Council I was adjourned because of political events in Italy in 1870, it had completed its work on the position of the Pope (the infallibility doctrine) but not its correlative work on the position of the bishops. This time, examination of the latter subject will probably place the infallibility doctrine in a slightly different light: after the doctrine's promulgation, it was thought that since the Pope was fully empowered to take initiative independently there might never be another Council. Now that there is going to be a second Council, a somewhat reordered view, stressing the importance of the assembly of all the

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bishops including the Bishop of Rome is expected.

Because of the amount of preparatory work which has been done and the expense incurred (10 Commissions and two special secretariats), it is unlikely that the death of the present Pope would cause a cancellation of the Council. The same applies to the continuance beyond the Second Council of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity initiated by the present Pope. Technically, this Secretariat is to prepare for this Council, and then die; actually, with ecumenic contacts increasing at their present rate, it is very unlikely to be disbanded.

The purpose of it now is to help the "separated brothers" follow the work of the Council, and to receive their ideas on what they would like to see the Council discuss. Its staff consists of Cardinal Augustine Bea, a famous Biblical scholar of German origin; Monsignor J. G. M. Willebrands of Holland, who has been an observer at various ecumenic sessions of Protestant and Orthodox groups, including World Council of Churches meetings at Rhodes in 1959 and at St. Andrews in Scotland in 1960; and two others – one from Corsica and one from the US. Five observers appointed by Cardinal Bea's Secretariat will attend the next meeting of the Protestant World Council of Churches in New Delhi in mid-November – the first Catholics to be designated officially by Rome for such a purpose. Previously, Catholics invited by non-Catholic bodies holding such meetings have merely been allowed to attend. This time, the agreed phrase is "chosen and authorized by the Secretariat on Unity."

Among specific requests filed with the Secretariat is one from the WCC urging a clear declaration of the Roman Church's position on religious liberty. In a number of predominantly Catholic countries – Ireland, Belgium, Austria – a good relationship exists in respect to other confessions; a number of leading Catholics have made excellent statements on the subject. By contrast, the situation in such countries as Spain is from the non-Catholic standpoint very distressing.

Numerically speaking, ecumenism is gaining fast. If the expected adherence to the World Council at the New Delhi meeting of groups from the Orthodox Churches from Eastern Europe goes through as scheduled, the WCC will include about half of the world's Christians. The main group remaining out, other than the Catholics, is the US Southern Baptists, but a scattering of other sects also have kept aloof.

A long list can be compiled of recent low-level contacts between Catholics and Protestants: cooperation in the annual week of prayer for unity in January; joint work among refugees. The visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury to Rome, and other similarly important visits of dignitaries from other churches, are cases where the contact has been on the highest level. Because the policy of the Secretariat for Unity is to let all publicity originate with the visitors, far more has been said privately than has been announced.

At the first Vatican Council, just under 100 years ago, representation was worldwide, but all of it was white. In 1961, the Catholic Church has a Negro Cardinal, its first, and the list of expected attendance at Vatican II includes many representatives of the non-white world. But there is also growing consciousness of the de-Christianized West as a mission field; and it is perhaps in industrialized, urbanized, materialistic Western Europe that future interconfessional cooperation will be evolved most rapidly.

THE NIGERIAN STUDENTS WERE WAITING FOR THAT POSTCARD

A Question of Black or White

Lagos, Nigeria

Two days after the second Peace Corps contingent to Africa arrived in Lagos a press conference was held for them. The 37 young men and women, looking remarkably fresh despite their tiring journey, along with members of the local official American community and a dozen Nigerian reporters, crowded their way into a small conference room. Outside, it was raining heavily.

As press conferences here go, at least those involving Americans, it was rather tame. Questioning was desultory. Not much interest was shown in the credentials of the young people who will be teaching in Nigeria's schools for the next two years, nor about the training they had just completed at Harvard, nor even about why they wanted to come to Africa in the first place.

Inevitably, however, the question of race came up. Why, a newsman wanted to know, was there only one Negro in the group? The explanation that the Peace Corps is made up entirely of volunteers and that so far

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few qualified Negroes have volunteered, made little impression. In the minds of these Nigerians the Peace Corps had already been tarred by the brush of discrimination. Soon thereafter the *Morning Post*, a daily owned by the government, confirmed this with a story containing a spurious quote from the lone Negro to the effect that Negroes are deliberately passed over by the Peace Corps selection board.

If the incident was a portent of what the Peace Corps, and for that matter US aid in general, faces in Nigeria, so too was the uproar that followed the circulation of Miss Michelmore's postcard at University College in Ibadan. The postcard, which described living conditions in Nigeria as "primitive and horrible," had been lost on the UCI campus and picked up by a Nigerian student. The UCI student body is volatile and easily aroused: twice within the past 10 months students have engaged in anti-Western riots. Judging from the speed with which the offending postcard was exploited – less than two hours after it was found copies were scattered around the university and had been given to the press – and from the speed with which their manifesto appeared calling for the immediate expulsion of the Americans, the students had been waiting for a pretext to sabotage the Peace Corps.

In the past, one of the quickest ways a young Nigerian with political ambitions could make a name for himself was to be in the forefront of demonstrations against the "colonialists." That tradition dies slowly. These prickly youths are inordinately suspicious of anything carrying a British or American label. They seem to be genuinely concerned lest Western aid compromise Nigeria's newly-won freedom. They view the Peace Corps as merely another American anti-Communist scheme and its teachers as disguised propagandists.

While the emotional binge in which the students and some of the faculty indulged was out of all proportion to the outrage felt by most of their countrymen, it would be a mistake to dismiss the Michelmore affair as unimportant, for the students' resentment was shared by less vocal Nigerians. Again a racial cast was put on the incident, the explanation being that this was yet another demonstration of the contempt that whites feel for blacks. Miss Michelmore could hardly be blamed for what she wrote, one Nigerian said, because "We must remember that to be black in America is to be out of grace."

Even though the demonstrators used language straight out of the Communist lexicon ("agents of imperialism," "international spies"), it is a mistake to assume, as both Peace Corps spokesmen and *The New York Times* did, that Moscow was pulling the strings in Ibadan. Sargent Shriver has been quoted as telling a YWCA audience on October 18 that, "It is not surprising that certain groups are working by mind and mimeograph to destroy the Peace Corps. The ferocity of the attack, the alertness to an opportunity for assault, and the crescendo of old abuse are the best measures of the value of the Peace Corps. . . ." The inference drawn from that statement is that Africans are incapable of independent thought and action. It caused one African to explode: "This kind of arrogance is a thousand times more offensive than a small postcard. We cannot pick a flower without some white father in official Washington telling us that it is a red rose fertilized with Communist manure."

It is not just the Peace Corps. The American presence here is made awkward because of the indignities experienced by Nigerian and other African diplomats in the US. Predictably, the refusal of service to Aliyu Bida by a Maryland restaurant in October set off a round of press fire – as did an incident involving a Nigerian in Virginia earlier in the year. It is depressing in the extreme for an American to read about "Jim Crow in America" while he is a guest in a country which is by comparison free of racial prejudice. To the Nigerian mind, a cup of coffee denied outweighs all the good that American missionaries, doctors, nurses, teachers and aid technicians are performing throughout the country – and the same cup of coffee counts for more than a score of nuclear tests in the Soviet Union.

The US commitment in terms of money and manpower will grow steadily in Nigeria – two more groups of Peace Corps teachers will arrive before the turn of the year. But as long as Africans are humiliated in restaurants and as long as American Negroes are discriminated against elsewhere, our credentials will continue being scrutinized with great skepticism. Or, as the *West Africa Pilot* editorialized after the Route 40 incident, "Charity should begin at home and until America can remove the ugly bug of discrimination from every facet of her life, her efforts to pass off as a friend of Afro-Asian nations will not be entirely successful."

PAUL CONKLIN

WHO'S BUILDING SHELTERS?

The New Republic *is engaged in a study of the nation's civilian defense program. Our readers can help us gather information. We are interested in learning what is being done or planned in your community by individuals, families or institutions (i.e. schools) to provide protection against fallout or blast damage.*

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Poison in the Air

How Much Fallout Can We Take?

by James Deakin

As the new clouds of radioactive fallout spread silently and invisibly around the earth, the Soviet Union stands guilty of a monstrous crime against the human race. But the guilt is shared by the United States, Britain and France, the other members of the atomic club. Until Moscow resumed nuclear testing last September 1, the US and UK had released more than twice as much radiation into the atmosphere as the Russians, and the fallout from the earlier blasts is still coming down. As it descends, the concentration of radioactivity builds up in the human body; for a dose of radiation is not like a flu virus which causes temporary discomfort and then dies. The effect of radiation is cumulative over the years – and on to succeeding generations. So, while we properly inveigh against the new poisoning, history is not likely to justify the pose of righteousness which some in the West were so quick to assume when Mr. Khrushchev made his cynical and irresponsible threat. Shock, dismay and foreboding for future generations were legitimate reactions; a holier-than-thou sermon was not.

On October 19, after the Soviets had detonated at least 20 nuclear devices, Ambassador Stevenson warned the UN General Assembly that this country, in "self protection," might have to resume above-ground tests. More recently, the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, "admitted" to a news conference in Las Vegas, Nevada, that the US might fall behind Russia (he apparently meant in weapons development) if the Soviets continue to test in the atmosphere while we abstain. The trial balloons are afloat.

All of which makes it more imperative than ever that the biological and genetic effects of fallout be understood. But for the average citizen, unfortunately, this is one of science's worst-marked channels, full of tricky currents and unknown depths. The scientists, in and out of government, do not agree on some of the most vital points, at least publicly. On the one hand, the Public Health Service declared as recently as October 26 that present radiation levels resulting from the Soviet shots "do not warrant undue public concern" or any action to limit the intake of radioactive substances by individuals or large population groups anywhere in the US. But the PHS conceded that the new radioactive particles "will add to the risk of genetic effects in succeeding generations, and possibly to the risk of health damage to some people in the United States." Then it added: "It is not possible to determine how extensive these ill effects will be – nor how many people will be affected."

Having hedged its bets in this way, PHS apparently decided it would be possible to make some sort of determination after all: "At present radiation levels, and even at somewhat higher levels, the additional risk is slight and very few people will be affected." Then, to conclude on an indeterminate note: "Nevertheless, if fallout increased substantially, or remained high for a long time, it would become far more important as a potential health hazard in this country and throughout the world."

Dr. Linus Pauling, a Nobel Prize winner in chemistry, has been less ambiguous, whether you choose to agree with him or not. After declaring, in an article last month in *Frontier* magazine, that the Russian testing "carries with it the possibility of the most tragic consequences of any action in the history of the world," he gave this estimate of the biologic and genetic consequences if the new Soviet shots totaled 200 megatons:

The damage to human germ plasm would be such that in the next few generations 160,000 children around the world would be born with gross physical or mental defects. Long-lived carbon-14 from the fusion process would cause four million embryonic, neonatal or childhood deaths and stillbirths over the next 20 generations, and between 200,000 and one million human beings now living would have their lives cut short by radiation-produced diseases such as leukemia. Most of these would be in the Northern Hemisphere, where the fallout is concentrating. Pauling's estimate of 200 megatons yield from the present series of Russian tests will probably turn out to be too high, but a total of 100 megatons is a distinct possibility.

The lack of scientific unanimity on the effects of radiation is due in part to insufficient data covering large population groups, from which agreed-on generalizations could be drawn. But more than one conscien-

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tious researcher has been inhibited from completely frank discussion of the available evidence by the less excusable fact that fallout has been made a political issue as well as a scientific problem. Its dangerous effects have been downgraded to the public by some who believe national security requires further testing. An illustration of this attitude is found in John A. McCone's letter to Dr. Thomas Lauritsen, reported in a note elsewhere in this issue of *The New Republic*.

To this day the Atomic Energy Commission shies away from discussing the health aspects of fallout. A recent study on radiation exposure by the AEC's division of biology and medicine stated: "The question of the biological effect . . .of [radiation] doses is not considered" herein. Of course, the AEC is in a bind now. If it comes down too hard on the potential dangers of fallout, it will box the President on resuming atmospheric tests. So the Commission's announcements of the new Soviet shots have been confined to one or two bleak sentences, with the fission yield usually left vague.

Now, of course, that the Russians are the nuclear villains, radiation is a nastier word than it was in the mid-1950s, when the US was testing in the atmosphere. The prevailing official attitude then seemed to be that fallout, if not exactly good for you, might not be much worse than a bad cold. After a nuclear blast, one bureaucrat suggested in those halcyon days, about all you had to do was haul out the broom and sweep off your sidewalks and roof. Things aren't that simple anymore. Yet if Washington gets too indignant about Soviet fallout, it will have to do a lot of fast footwork if America decides it too must start pushing up the radiation count.

How Much Fallout Will We Get?

As of October 25, the AEC had reported 24 shots in the new Soviet series, 12 of them in a megaton range, including a super bomb with a yield of 30 to 50 megatons (the equivalent of 30 million to 50 million tons of TNT); and President Kennedy indicated there were one or two more than those reported.

Assuming the lower figure for the big blast and one shot estimated by the Japanese at 10 megatons, a conservative computation is that the 24 announced tests produced a total yield of at least 60 megatons. Some government scientists say privately that the figure probably is closer to 80 megatons, and that the full 50-megaton bomb that Khrushchev mentioned may still be detonated.

If the new Soviet series has followed the general pattern of previous Russian tests, the shots were roughly half fission and half fusion, meaning a fission yield of 30 to 40 megatons thus far. To this must be added the 90 to 92 megatons of fission yield produced between the dawn of the atomic age in 1945 and the informal three-power test moratorium that began in November, 1958. Of this amount, 65 megatons resulted from US and British tests; the remainder was Soviet-produced. At 110 pounds of radioactive material per megaton of fission yield, this means that some 13,000 or 14,000 pounds of "hot" particles and dust have been loosed in the atmosphere, not counting the carbon-14 from fusion.

The radioactive isotopes (or more properly radionuclides) produced by atomic fission are of more immediate concern. There are literally dozens of these unstable elements emitting radiation as they decay, but from a health standpoint the most important are strontium 89 and 90, iodine-131, cesium-137 and radium-226. There is general agreement among scientists now that the radioactivity from these substances, like radiation from any source, can cause a variety of diseases in man, and genetic changes in his descendants, if the doses are sufficiently high.

The Federal Radiation Council, which sets government policy on human radiation exposure, has listed these somatic (body) effects of radiation: Leukemia and other forms of cancer, precancerous lesions, neoplasms, skin changes, cataracts, shortening of the life span and effects on growth and development. The disagreement comes over the amounts of radiation that will produce these conditions in the population today and mutations in future generations. At what levels does radiation become dangerous? Is there a threshold below which there is no danger?

The Public Health Service has decided that it would be unwise to assume the existence of a threshold. Its October 26 statement declared: "The consensus of scientific opinion is that the most prudent course is to assume there is no level of radiation exposure below which one can be absolutely certain that harmful effects may not occur to at least a few individuals when sufficiently large numbers of people are involved." The Federal Radiation Council came out at about the same place. "The evidence," it declared last year, "is insufficient to prove either the hypothesis of a damage threshold or the hypothesis of no threshold in man at low doses. . . . It is therefore prudent to adopt the working principal that radiation exposure be kept to the lowest practical amount."

From a layman's point of view, the PHS "no threshold" concept may be clear enough, but from then on things get fuzzy. How many are "at least a few individuals" in a population of 180 million? If there is no threshold and any amount of radiation is potentially dangerous, why are the present levels no cause for "undue public concern?" The Health Service answers that a good deal is known about the biologic effects of massive, quick doses of radiation on individuals but

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that there is very little data on the consequences of prolonged exposure to small doses. It is this that is involved in fallout that drifts down from the stratosphere after distant nuclear tests, and it is the entire population that is affected, rather than small, easily-studied groups, PHS points out. Some scientists have been willing to attempt the extrapolations from individuals and small groups to the general population, but PHS and the AEC have steadfastly declined to do so.

The Danger of "Hot Spots"

Nevertheless, various government studies and reports provide a few clues to the situation in large population groups. If it is assumed, for instance, that the present levels of natural background radiation – the radiation that has always been present in man's environment from such things as cosmic rays – are tolerable, then it is interesting to note that between May, 1957, and April, 1958, the thyroid glands of children in St. Louis, Missouri, received a total dosage of 1,900 millirads of radioactive iodine-131 from milk in their diet – 19 times the dosage of the same radionuclide from natural background radiation in the same period. This finding was reported in a June, 1960, study by the fallout studies branch of the AEC's division of biology and medicine.

The dose in Salt Lake City was 1,800 millirads of iodine-131 produced by nuclear testing, compared with the same 100 millirads of natural background I-131. In Cincinnati, it was 1,000 millirads, in New York City, 580, in Sacramento, 220. The national average was between 100 and 200 millirads of nuclear-produced I-131, compared with the same natural background dosage.

Expressed another way, the average daily concentration of iodine-131 per liter of milk in St. Louis in the same 1957-58 period was 258 micromicrocuries. This was substantially above the 100 mmc limit established by the Radiation Council as the acceptable risk over a lifetime. The average in Salt Lake City was 249 mmc, in Cincinnati, 136, New York, 79, Sacramento, 30. Equally significant is the fact that the averages were for a year's time. The Radiation Council has set one year, rather than a lifetime, as the actual guide period for determining whether radiation levels are so high as to be unsafe. In practice, the time that elapsed before control measures were taken to counteract contamination would be much shorter than a year, PHS officials have said.

Other examples could be cited, but what it all boils down to is that there have been a good many times, a worrisome number of times, in which radiation readings in various parts of the US have equaled or exceeded the limits deemed safe – and this was before the current Soviet tests had started. In the past, most of the high levels have not lasted very long, and most scientists agree with the PHS that it is sustained high levels that are dangerous. But some areas have shown persistent high readings (an AEC report on strontium-90 noted that milk supplies in several cities had consistently shown twice the national average of this radionuclide).

The number and frequency of these "hot spots" can be expected to increase when the new Russian fallout begins to come down next spring. The national averages for the various radionuclides may not approach the danger point (we simply can't be sure in advance) but many of the hot spots are big cities, so large population groups are involved nevertheless.

Iodine-131 is a short-lived substance. Its half life is only eight days, meaning that half of its radioactivity will decay in eight days, half of the remainder in another eight days and so on. It gives off both gamma rays (similar to X-rays) and beta particles, and it seeks out the thyroid gland in humans, especially small children. The Federal Radiation Council has reported that clinical studies of children who received X-ray treatment for benign head and neck conditions showed that some of the patients developed cancer of the thyroid after exposures as low as 150 rem. This is substantially more than 1,900 millirad, for instance, but PHS scientists emphasize privately that from a health standpoint the cumulative effect, in which the depositions of radioactive substances build up year after year, may be as crucial, if not more so, than sudden, temporary high readings.

The increased attention being paid to iodine-131 results in part from a revision of the previous estimate of the time required for fallout from nuclear tests to reach the earth's surface. It had been thought for a time that it would take five to ten years for the radioactive debris to work its way down from the stratosphere. The estimate now is one to five years, meaning that more I-131, barium-140, strontium-89, zirconium-95 and other short-lived radionuclides will reach the earth than previously anticipated.

Had the old forecast of fallout time held true, the amount of "hot" I-131 remaining when the nuclear debris reached the earth would have been small. In contrast, strontium-90, which in sufficient amounts is believed to cause bone cancer, has a half life of 28 years; cesium-137, 26 years; and carbon-14, an astounding 5,760 years. This means that the strontium-90 floating around today will still be a health hazard in the year 2100, carbon-14 for the next 28,000 years.

To determine when precautionary measures should be taken to restrict the intake of contaminated food, the PHS has a new set of "radiation protection guides" recommended by the Radiation Council and approved by the President last September 20. The council set up

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three ranges of average daily intake over a year.

The upper limit of Range II is considered the acceptable risk for a lifetime. For example, Range II for iodine-131 is 10 to 100 mmc a day. If the upper limit were reached or exceeded for a substantial period, precautionary measures would be considered. Since I-131 has a short half life, forage and feed that had been stored for 60 days could be fed to dairy cows with safety, PHS believes, and the cows could be kept in the barn so they could not eat grass that might be contaminated. If I-131 got into fluid milk in relatively small amounts, the milk could be stored for a week or so until the radiation decayed to a safe point. If the I-131 level were high enough to require longer storage, it has been suggested that milk already packaged could be frozen, held for the required time and later thawed out, and distributed to consumers. Or it could be processed into dried or canned milk or cheese or butter, which can be stored.

Control measures such as these probably could be enforced, particularly since the federal government has authority under the food and drug act to seize interstate shipments of milk and other foods showing high radioactivity. But as one senior government scientist put it: "Could you really consider seizing the entire milk supply of New York City?" If radiation levels shot up to a critical point, in other words, what would really be done? Declare a national emergency? Evacuate people? To where? The potential problems are immense. Meanwhile, the air is still being breathed, the fallout is still coming down, and Pauling's disturbing predictions remain.

Caught in the Cross-fire at Bizerte

by Abdul Said

The political upheavals of recent weeks in Tunis are a sharp reminder that while the fires of the mid-summer Bizerte crisis may appear to be subsiding, the smoke will cloud the North African scene for a long time to come. President Habib Bourguiba has been compelled as part of a limited Cabinet shakeup to give increased power to that numerically strong, if still organizationally incoherent, element centered around the trade unionists which favors a more neutralist Tunisian foreign policy. The bureaucratic empire of Ahmed ben Saleh – a possible Bourguiba heir who is identified with this new force – has been enlarged by adding transport and industry to his Planning and Finance Secretariat. All in all, the result of Bizerte – and of the timorous role of the United States in that crisis – has been to weaken those leaders who had consciously oriented Tunisia foreign policy to the West; and Bourguiba understands this.

What struck me most about Bourguiba when I talked with him earlier this year in his office and in a midnight stroll in the market place of Tunis was precisely his sensitivity to his surroundings. Yet not unlike other Eastern rulers, he has unwittingly erected a no-man's land between himself and his people, separated from them by overprotective and well-intentioned, but not always loyal or brave counselors and admirers. The occasion was sure to arise, and Bizerte was to provide it, when he would need to re-establish contact with the people.

Like most developing countries, Tunisia has profound economic problems which aggravate political tensions. Despite the well-planned, if under-financed, development projects, the general standard of living remains very low. The entrepreneurial class, which requires fluid capital and adequate means of transportation, has suffered greatly from the repatriation of French money since 1956, and to date US assistance has not compensated for the loss. The economy has tended to stagnate; unemployment and low wages are endemic. Between 1956 and 1961 the average unemployment figure was about 15 percent of the entire adult male working force. Meanwhile the population has been expanding at a rate of two percent annually. The development of industry has been hampered by the instability and inexperience of the labor force and by the strictly limited purchasing power of consumers. A balance-of-payments deficit places the entire economy in a straitjacket.

But Tunisia's problems are rooted in the psychological restiveness of many who can no longer tolerate Bourguiba's "dependence" on France. The increasingly articulate intelligentsia has become peculiarly sensitive

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on this score, perhaps because their "dependence" is almost inevitable. The least Tunisia and Bourguiba could do in their eyes, since they cannot actually break all ties with France, is to make some gesture signifying how independent of France they *feel*. Throughout my travels in Tunisia this attitude was expressed in virtually every discussion with Tunisians from all parts of the country and in all walks of life. How can Tunisia safeguard and develop its independence from France, it was asked, yet at the same time retain its economic, cultural and spiritual ties? Bourguiba has not yet furnished the answer to this question, and the Tunisian intelligentsia is far from developing an independent concept of a national purpose.

Ever since their independence in 1956 the Tunisians have been trying to find themselves. Unlike the Eastern Arabs, they have been close to the centers of Western civilization. But though they have had extensive contact with Western ideas, and the reconciling of Western and traditional values may not be for them impossible, the synthesis has not yet emerged. Meanwhile, Tunisians find themselves suspended emotionally and intellectually somewhere between their Arab "brethren" and their Western "friends" – demanding recognition from both "brethren" and "friends" of a Tunisian personality which is as yet obscure.

Bourguiba had staked his prestige on promoting French-Algerian negotiations. As he watched them drag on almost hopelessly at Evian he felt compelled to rehabilitate his position in the eyes of Tunisians by siding strongly with North African interests. The new phase of French-Algerian negotiations, which began in mid-July in Lugrin, revealed that France might partition Algeria while retaining her base at Mers el Kebir. Since the defense of Mers el Kebir depends upon Bizerte Bourguiba felt compelled to serve notice that annexation of Bizerte was unacceptable, and could not play a part in an Algerian settlement. Bourguiba the "Westerner" was also demonstrating that he had become a good North African, one who was not prepared to occupy second place next to King Hasan II of Morocco or, for that matter, the Algerian FLN leadership. In addition, he hoped to attract Soviet involvement to the extent that this might limit French freedom of action and counterbalance Western pressures.

The strategy crystallized on July 17, 1961, when Bourguiba demanded French evacuation from Bizerte and made his claim on the Sahara. The Bizerte war broke out on July 19, and on July 22, the UN Security Council met to discuss the crisis. The US had tried to dissuade the Tunisians from submitting the complaint to the UN, a policy intended to save France embarrassment but destined, as might have been anticipated, to embarrass the US itself. On July 22, a Liberian-sponsored resolution calling for a cease-fire was adopted by the Council. The US chose to stand firm on indecision. It abstained.

The US position on the July 22 resolution seems to have been based on a dogmatic misunderstanding of the options it had: that is, the idea that it had to "take sides" between France or Bourguiba. Had these been the only options, of course the US would have had to eschew any act calculated to weaken its NATO ally. However, other choices existed, including an authentic neutrality proceeding from an objective appraisal of the case and directed toward bringing two friends of the US together.

Abstention was, in any case, not as a practical matter a way to avoid taking sides. For in the eyes not only of Tunisia, but of most of the underdeveloped countries, to abstain on the innocuous Liberian resolution was in effect to take the French side. In the context of the UN vote on Hungary, India's abstention similarly amounted to a pro-Soviet stand. And Tunisia, it is not entirely irrelevant to recall, voted then to condemn the Soviet Union. As it was, Bourguiba was left with no course but to try to find support elsewhere and to press for an emergency session of the General Assembly.

A Vain Search for Support

The Security Council resolution centered international attention on Tunisia's past failures to get France to negotiate the fate of Bizerte. But the cease-fire meant that Tunisian and French troops were frozen where they stood, inside and outside each other's lines, since France chose to interpret the resolution as endorsing this rather than a withdrawal to original locations. The US then failed to suggest proposals for establishing some sort of UN supervisory body to carry on with the withdrawal of troops. At this point Tunisian public opinion could not conceal its disappointment with the US. Mohammed Masmoudi, who was dismissed as Secretary of State for Information two weeks ago for going farther in certain foreign policy statements than Bourguiba was ready to go, typified the prevailing attitude by stating: "Our American friends in abandoning Tunisia are reacting like the sleeping dog, suddenly disturbed, in the Chinese proverb."

During the first week of August, Tunisian emissaries were sent to Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, Europe and Latin America to mobilize support for the emergency session of the Assembly. The Tunisian Foreign Minister, Dr. Mokkadam, went to Moscow and met with Khrushchev and Gromyko; the Minister of Defense, Mr. Ladgam, came to Washington to confer with the President and the Secretary of State. In Washington, Tunisia made its final bid for US assistance and offered terms for dropping its campaign for a special session of the Assembly: that France agree to

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negotiate on a time-table for evacuating the Bizerte base. Washington had to think about it, and to add insult to equivocation, efforts by Tunisian diplomats to talk with President Kennedy and other high officials were frustrated by a peremptory State Department run-around.

Elsewhere, however, the quest for support was equally disappointing. Tunisian emissaries found the Arabs characteristically long on promises and short on delivery. King Hasan II of Morocco, who disapproved of Bourguiba's action in Bizerte, was in favor of mediating on his own terms, while the left-wing opposition in Morocco, the *Union Nationale des Forces Populaires*, came very close to advocating open intervention. President Bourguiba returned from Belgrade, disappointed and unimpressed, to find that the disruption of relations with France was producing serious economic distress at home.

When Ambassador Stevenson came out against the formal Tunisian request of August 7 for a special meeting of the Assembly, arguing that it would imperil the constructive development of Franco-Tunisian negotiations, the Tunisians became nearly desperate. Rumor had it that the US delegation would actively lobby against the request. It was only the eleventh hour intervention of Senator Fulbright in response to a plea made by the Tunisian Presidential envoy, Mr. Hourani, that appears to have moderated US behavior.

Finally, on August 25, the General Assembly called for the withdrawal of French forces to the base and recognition of Tunisian sovereign rights to require French withdrawal, while urging the two governments to enter into immediate negotiations for the withdrawal of all French armed forces from Tunisian territory. The US along with many of its allies again abstained from voting on the ground that the recommendation could only stiffen the resistance of both sides.

From the United States standpoint the situation was rescued fortuitously when de Gaulle and Bourguiba found a face-saving way to come to terms. But let us be clear: the settlement was a matter of chance rather than design, and this relatively placid ending to a stormy sequence of events cost the West dearly in North Africa. It is true that the US as a global power has to operate in the crossfire of conflicting interests. My purpose here, however, is not to balance the advantages that may have been gained in Paris as against the damage in Tunis but rather to call attention to the very great damage that has in fact been done.

When a discrepancy exists between its principles and its behavior, the West must bear in mind that it is politically unwise as well as morally wrong to reinterpret its behavior in terms of its own exclusive concepts of peace and security. While it was not startling that France, in trying to maintain a free hand in the Bizerte affair, rationalized its action in terms of Western unity and solidarity, it was inappropriate for Washington to pose as an indifferent spectator. The kind of peace that certain Franco-American diplomats were peddling in Bizerte was a conception no less strange and distorted than the one we accuse the Soviets of pursuing.

Much is said in the Western press about the "double standard" applied by certain unaligned governments with respect to the Communists and the West. To Tunisia the US appeared to be guilty of precisely the same offense. *Al Amal*, organ of Bourguiba's Neo-Destour Party, declared on September 3 that "Western policy is two-faced and employs . . . one scale of measurement for friends . . . and another for enemies. There is no place in Western policy for principles and values."

In concrete political terms the long-range consequences of Western ineptness of this magnitude may inestimably outweigh any immediate advantage that might – or might not – have been gained in relations with France. For the effects of such an episode are magnified out of all proportion to their intrinsic importance in a politically – as well as economically – underdeveloped country passing through a decisive period of internal political transition.

What Are We Aiming At?

What if Bourguiba had been compelled to retreat from Bizerte? This would have been nothing less than an act of enforced political suicide which could hardly have been of service to the US in North Africa. A leadership vacuum has already developed in North Africa following the death of Mohammed V of Morocco and the internal struggles of the Algerian Provisional Government that have resulted in no more than a stand-off situation by the selection of ben Khedda to the Premiership. With the foreseeable decline of Nasser's leadership in the Arab world, it is no time for the US to allow virtually the only remaining pro-Western Arab leader to lose control – whatever the reason. Algeria will be independent one day, and the future of a nationalist Algerian government will be shaped very largely by the character of a settlement that Bourguiba will help create.

At present the immediate beneficiaries of the post-Bizerte political realignment in Tunis have been relatively moderate supporters of the Bourguiba order such as ben Saleh. But the question yet to be decided is whether the demise of Bourguiba will mean the eventual rise of opposition forces of an extreme anti-Western cast – the powerful traditionalist old families, the Nasserite or "eastern Arab" students, and a small but vigorous Communist Party – all of them clamoring for a greater voice as the end of the era of one-party, one-man politics in Tunisia draws inevitably nearer.

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The Cult of the Motor Car

All false gods resemble Moloch, at least in the early phases of their careers, so it would be unreasonable to expect any form of idol-worship to become widespread without the accompaniment of human sacrifice. But there is reason in all things, and in this country the heathenish cult of the motor-car is exceeding all bounds in its demands. The annual butchery of 40,000 American men, women and children to satiate its blood-lust is excessive; a quota of 25,000 a year would be more than sufficient.

No other popular idol is accorded even that much grace. If the railroads, for example, regularly slaughtered 25,000 passengers each year, the high priests of the cult would have cause to tremble for their personal safety, for such a holocaust would excite demands for the hanging of every railroad president in the United States. But by comparison with the railroad, the motor car is a relatively new object of popular worship, so it is too much to hope that it may be brought within the bounds of civilized usage quickly and easily.

Yet it is plainly time to make a start, and to be effective the first move should be highly dramatic, without being fanatical. Here, then, is what Swift would have called a modest proposal by way of a beginning. From next New Year's Day let us keep careful account of each successive fatality on the highways, publicizing it on all media of communication. To avoid suspicion of bigotry, let the hand of vengeance be stayed until the meat-wagon has picked up the twenty-five thousandth corpse; but let the twenty-five thousand and first butchery be the signal for the arrest of the 50 state highway commissioners.

Then let the whole lot be hanged in a public mass execution on July 4, 1963. The scene, of course, should be nine miles northwest of Centralia, Illinois, the geographical center of population according to the census. A special grandstand, protected by awnings from the midsummer sun of Illinois, should be erected for occupancy by honored guests, who should include the ambassadors of all those new African nations as yet not quite convinced that the United States is thoroughly civilized. The band should play the Rogues' March as a processional, switching to "Hail Columbia, Happy Land!" as the trap is sprung.

Independence Day is the appropriate date as a symbolical reminder of the American article of faith that governments are instituted among men to secure to them certain inalienable rights, the first of which is life, and when any government becomes subversive of that end, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it. The highway system is an agency of government, and when it grinds up 40,000 Americans every year the government is destroying its own taxpayers, which is obviously a silly thing for any government to do.

Hanging the responsible officials would not abolish the government, but would emphasize its accountability for the lives of its individual citizens, which would certainly alter it, and definitely for the better. Moreover, the salubrious effects would not be exclusively political, but at least partially, and perhaps primarily social. It would challenge sharply not the cult of the motor car itself but some of its ancillary beliefs and practices – for instance, the doctrine that the fulfillment of life consists in proceeding from hither to yon, not for any advantage to be gained by arrival but merely to avoid the cardinal sin of stasis, or, as it is generally termed, staying put.

True, the adherents of staying put are now reduced to a minor, even a miniscule sect, and their credo, "Home-keeping hearts are happiest," is as disreputable as Socinianism. Nonetheless, although few in number they are a stubborn crew, as tenacious of life as the Hardshell Baptists, which suggests that there is some kind of vital principle embodied in their faith. Perhaps there is more truth than we are wont to admit in the conviction of that ornament of Tarheelia, Robert Ruark's grandfather, who was persuaded that the great curse of the modern world is "all this gallivantin'."

In any event, the yearly sacrifice of 40,000 victims is a hecatomb too large to be justified by the most ardent faith. Somehow our contemporary Moloch must be induced to see reason. Since appeals to morality, to humanity, and to sanity have had such small effect, perhaps our last recourse is the deterrent example. If we make it established custom that whenever butchery on the highways grows excessive, say beyond 25,000 *per annum*, then *somebody* is going to hang, it follows that the more eminent the victim, the more impressive the lesson. To hang 50 Governors might be preferable except that they are not directly related to the highways; so, all things considered, the highway commissioners would seem to be elected.

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Herbert Matthews' Cuban Story

by Samuel Shapiro

Herbert L. Matthews' role as a *New York Times* reporter of the Cuban revolution has received a great deal of attention from those politicians and journalists who believe that he was, as one of them claims, "the American primarily responsible for the campaign of propaganda and misrepresentation which sold Fidel Castro to the people of the United States." Spruille Braden, Arthur Gardner, and Earl E. T. Smith, former Ambassadors to Cuba, all singled Matthews out in their testimony before the Senate Internal Security Committee as a "do-gooder" and a "radical" who had dangerous influence over Latin American specialists in the State Department. *Time* has called him an "emotionally biased . . . apologist for Castro," and *The National Review* last year printed a cartoon showing Fidel sitting on a map of Cuba and reciting the slogan "I got my job through *The New York Times*." As Nathaniel Weyl puts it in *Red Star Over Cuba*, "if there was any single American who could be held responsible for the Cuban tragedy, it was Herbert L. Matthews."

The Cuban Story
by Herbert Matthews
(Braziller; $4.50)

Now Mr. Matthews answers his critics. His interview with Castro in the Sierra Maestra on February 17, 1957, was in the beginning simply "a story to be got," an old-fashioned journalistic scoop. It gave Fidel's forces a much-needed boost in morale and it called American attention to the brutality of the Batista dictatorship; it did not, unfortunately, lead us to send a capable career diplomat to Havana or to cancel our arms shipments until fourteen months later. In that first interview, which he reprints in full, Matthews accurately predicted that Batista "ought to be able to hang on for the nearly two years of his present term" but that he could not "possibly hope to suppress the Castro revolt." Ambassador Gardner, who then believed – perhaps still believes – that the US "never had a better friend" than Batista, was recalled a few months afterward – only to be replaced by another businessman and Republican fund-raiser. Of his briefing of the new Ambassador, which right-wing sources have tried to inflate as part of a sinister plot, Matthews says simply that "it was correct information and good advice that I gave Smith, and it was a pity that neither he nor the State Department based their policies on it."

In subsequent chapters, Matthews records the triumph of the revolutionary forces and the impressive achievements of Castro's first two and one-half years in power: the construction of thousands of schools, hospitals, low cost houses and apartments, the expansion of public health facilities, the opening of hotels, beaches, and job opportunities to the lower classes, and the ambitious, if not altogether successful, agrarian reform program. But he is not, as his critics charge, blind to the dark side of the regime. He condemns its "inexcusable . . . police brutality, very bad prison conditions . . . police terror, delation," and describes Castro's own "instability . . . emotionalism . . . irresponsibility," his "amoral, almost impersonal . . . ruthlessness and cruelty." Fidel, he writes,

> ". . . is a poor administrator and a worse economist. He is politically astute, but the world's worst statesman; a demagogue, but with a genuine, paternalistic love of people. Yet I do not believe for one moment that he trusts people, not even his beloved *guajiros* – the peasants. . . . So long as Castro remains in power there will not be and cannot be democracy and freedom in Cuba."

This is not exactly the language of eulogy; and Mr. Matthews, unlike almost anyone else, has been able to criticize Castro to his face and to warn him against the Communists without provoking his notorious temper.

On the crucial issue of Castro's ties with the Communist *bloc* Mr. Matthews persists in what has always been his opinion: that Fidel was not in the beginning and is not now a puppet of the USSR, that in early 1959 he was "instinctively and emotionally anti-Communist," and that he was subsequently "trapped . . . by his revolutionary aims and the massive pressures against him from the United States policies and the attitude of the American people." To the argument that Fidel's evident willingness to ally himself with Khrushchev and Mao makes such an interpretation an exercise in hairsplitting, Matthews answers that a better understanding on our part of Castro's character and purposes might have prevented the tragic deterioration of US-Cuban relations. We may indeed ask ourselves exactly what we have gained by the sugar quota cut, the oil embargo, the program of sabotage, and the CIA-sponsored invasion. We have infuriated Castro but not eliminated him; *fidelismo* has more appeal in Latin America than it had two years ago; Cuba's Ernesto Guevara stole the show from Douglas Dillon at Punta del Este, and during his travels helped bring about governmental crises in Argentina and Brazil; and yet Secretary Dillon's latest word is that "we do not . . . recognize the permanence of the [Castro] regime . . . and never will." We have tried the same policy with the Soviet Union and Communist China, without much success; perhaps our government will eventually have to admit that "never" is a long, long time.

More important than the chapters dealing with Cuba are those which try to place the revolution in its hemispheric setting and spell out the lessons we must learn from it. No matter how

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misguided Castro seems to us, Mr. Matthews feels that his revolution "is an expression of the aspirations and the needs of the masses of the people in Latin America." Even those democratic leaders Fidel denounces derive a certain amount of satisfaction from seeing Uncle Sam get a Latin kick in the pants; and they know that much of the generosity of the Alliance for Progress is a result of Washington's fear of *fidelismo*. Despite our experiences with half-a-dozen now deposed *caudillos*, we are still supplying munitions and moral support to dictators in Spain, Portugal, Haiti, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Guatemala. Despite our insistence on internal reform as a prerequisite for US aid, tax and land reforms are bogged down almost everywhere in the hemisphere. President Kennedy's recent interviews with conservatives like Peru's Manuel Prado and Argentina's Arturo Frondizi make it seem likely that he is willing to accept some face-lifting in lieu of genuine body-building. Mr. Matthew's judgment, based on long familiarity with Latin America, is that the Hispanic elites will not peacefully yield their privileges, and that "revolution may prove to be the only way." There are almost certainly going to be other leftist, anti-Yankee uprisings to the south of us, and the ineptness of our policy in handling Cuba is a poor augury for our ability to deal effectively with similar situations that may arise elsewhere.

Mr. Matthews' final chapter a stern look at American journalism, makes somber reading. He reminds us that US newspapers played a major role in whipping up a previous Cuban crisis in 1898 and that many of them today still indulge in distortion, sensationalism, half-truths, and outright lies. (If these accusations seem too strong, consult a newspaper file and re-read the AP-UPI dispatches for April 17-19 of this year.) Executions, seizure of American property, bitter speeches, beards, and pictures of Premier Castro playing golf are front-page news; the significance of the social revolution in Cuba is underplayed or ignored. Mr. Matthews gives specific examples of sloppy reporting by the wire services, *Time*, and the radio-television networks; my own clipping file contains hundreds of demonstrably false stories about Cuba, including over a dozen which announce Castro's death by assassination, murder, disease, or poison. Giving way to wish fulfillment, however, is bad journalism, and bad diplomacy. Mr. Matthews has written a level-headed and thoughtful account that ends with the warning: "We are going to have to live with Fidel Castro and all he stands for while he is alive, and with his ghost when he is dead."

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Migratory Workers and Their Employers

by Asher Brynes

At the Congressional hearings on the Mexican farm labor program last year a California grower – big farmers are called *growers* in the countryside just as big businessmen are *industrialists* in the city chambers of commerce – rose in wrath to explain himself. The subject of migratory farm labor, he said,

The Harvesters
by Louisa R. Shotwell
(Doubleday; $3.95)

has been "the central theme of circuses, and I use the word advisedly, spawned in waves of emotionalism, born in the medium of acrimony and misrepresentation, and nurtured in the climate of hysteria and prejudice . . . I begin to wonder whether I am the venal, brutal beast pictured by [the other witnesses] or merely an American farmer, attempting to make a honest living and possessed of a conscientious regard for the welfare of my fellow human beings." In conclusion, he put the case squarely: If Mexican farm labor were made unavailable to him by Congressional refusal to renew the legislation permitting the importation of such workers, he "would be out of business because . . . when our harvest needs are great there are just not enough domestic workers to do the jobs. . . ."

The witness was followed by a succession of growers representing the National Farm Labor Users Committee who had statistics showing that the wages paid such migratory labor, whether Mexican or domestic, had risen in recent years. Still others offered more sophisticated reasonings of the kind used to justify the price-support programs for farmers which are endorsed, with minor differences, by Republicans and Democrats alike. The gist of it is that farmers consider themselves to be the residual receivers of income derived from the sale of agricultural products, meaning that everyone who deals with farmers, from the implement and fertilizer dealers to the truckers, commission merchants and processors, gets his take, or profit, on an absolute basis – and the farmer must be content with what's left over. The businessman who sells tractors to the farmer insists upon charging a fixed percentage of the money involved in each transaction. Labor also charges for its time according to a fixed scale of wages. Consequently, when the prices of farm products rise and fall in the primary markets it is the poor agrarian who must take it on the chin, and thus his income expands more or less, and sometimes it positively contracts, much more sharply than the incomes of others in the food business.

The commercial farmer argues that because he is a victim of oligopoly, buying the goods and services he needs in an *administered price* market, any additional costs for "labor, fringes, and

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accessories," as one of them put it, "cannot be passed on to the consumer under the present economic structure of agriculture." What is meant by "accessories" was shown by an item in a rural newspaper, which still another witness offered for the record:

> "Among the added requirements this year for participating farmers (who use Mexican labor) are safety measures which must be added to labor-hauling vehicles. These requirements, many of which are just short of ridiculous, include items such as a first-aid kit, fire extinguishers, fixed seats, and grabirons or handholds for the workers."

In Miss Shotwell's ably researched book the historical, legal and economic aspects of this hard-bitten world are wafered between impressionistic accounts of what life is really like among the workers in the fields. It's grim, and it has been going on a long time. The only real cure in sight is no legal or political gimmick, but farm mechanization, which is slowly reducing the need for such labor. There is an element of granite in the economic substructure of the agriculture business that explains much of the resistance of employing farmers. The bare cost of furnishing shelter that is to be occupied seasonally – only a few weeks in the year, when the migratory workers come in for the harvest – can be quite high. What looks to a city man's eyes like a row of shacks or barracks may represent a cost, to the employing "grower," of perhaps $400 for each migratory worker who is to be briefly housed. The annual interest on this basic investment would run to $24, at the going rate; depreciation and maintenance can cost some 10 percent of the base figure, for each item, or $80 taken together. The sum of these annual costs for housing of a poor quality may be slightly over $100. And if occupancy by the migratory workers runs a month in the year, the weekly cost of housing them is around $25, or half the wage income received by migratory workers *when they work*. This is paid by the farmer – but on the other hand the workers receive no income when it rains or when they are traveling.

Miss Shotwell does make one curious error, when she says that the Department of Agriculture has never taken farm labor into account in its wrestlings with the farm problem. "With the sole exception of the Sugar Act," she says, which provides that growers of that commodity must pay their workers a fair wage if they are to be eligible for a bounty of two cents per pound, farm labor is left "completely out of consideration." On the contrary, it is most carefully considered even in administering this unusual legislation under which farmers are paid by the Government to pay fair wages to their employees. A few months ago the Department set the lawful wage for labor on sugar beet and cane farms in the United States at a dollar an hour. And that is the average of what farm workers receive on any kind of farm.

A Portrait of Justice Holmes

by Alexander M. Bickel

Mr. Francis Biddle has had one of the most impressive careers among contemporary American lawyers. He has been Solicitor General and Attorney General of the United States. He has been a judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit and of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. Early on, he was law clerk to Mr. Justice Holmes. These three lectures were delivered at the University of Texas under the auspices of the committee that Congress created some years ago to administer the legacy (the cash legacy, that is) which came to the Nation under Holmes' will. Mr. Biddle essays – briefly and lightly – a portrait of Holmes: the man and the aphorisms. He then proceeds to inquire "what if any principles can guide" the judicial process in which Justice Holmes engaged.

Justice Holmes, Natural Law, and The Supreme Court: The Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise Lectures, 1960
by Francis Biddle
(Macmillan; $2.50)

Holmes' skepticism, his love of paradox, his joy in phrase-making, to which he gave such free rein in the published correspondences with Harold Laski, with Sir Frederick Pollock and others – these manifestations of Holmes in themselves and as they drew attention to certain passages in his more formal writings, have brought down upon his head the condemnation of Catholic scholars, who take him for a rank materialist and a cynic.

Holmes was no cynic, and the point is well-established, but at times, in his free-thinking fervor, Mr. Biddle makes himself – and what is worse, Holmes – sound like some species of Robert Ingersoll. And he takes a rather primitive view of Catholic thought. Thus: "The Catholic doctrine – fundamentally inconsistent with separation of Church and State – goes much further than the concept that, in determining whether he should resist a particular law thought to be evil, a man should

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bide by the dictates of his conscience, since it insists that he must obey the dictates of his Church, irrespective of the expressed will of his sovereign. To the Catholic, natural law is what the Church says it is." I don't know what is meant by "separation of Church and State" in this passage, nor am I prepared to offer a counter-definition of natural law. But I do know that some account might have been taken of the work, for example, of Father John Courtney Murray, or of certain non-Catholic scholars, who also call what they profess "natural law."

Holmes was the first of the modern realists: "The life of the law has not been logic: it has been experience. The felt necessities of the time. . . ." He also said: "The law is the witness and the external deposit of our moral life." Somewhere vaguely between these two quotations lies the problem of the judge who is charged with making the law. He should incorporate, in constantly changing conditions, what from time to time is deemed expedient or prudent: the felt necessities. But he is guardian and shaper also of that law which is witness to the moral life. Mr. Biddle winds up with a Holmes who resembles the Catholic caricature: a Holmes who despised general principles and for whom "the substance of the law . . . at any given time pretty nearly corresponds with what is then thought to be 'convenient'." That there was this streak in Holmes is a commonplace. But it is not all there was.

In the famous dissent alluded to by Mr. Biddle, in which he sought to oust Herbert Spencer from the Fourteenth Amendment, Holmes said: "I think that the word liberty in the Fourteenth Amendment is perverted when it is held to prevent the natural outcome of a dominant opinion. . . ." But he added immediately: "unless it can be said that . . . the statute proposed would infringe fundamental principles as they have been understood by the traditions of our people and our law." And Holmes the realist knew that the task of deriving and applying such fundamental principles was not a mechanical one, to be accomplished by logic and historical research. He knew that ultimately, even if in a narrow area only, the task calls forth the judge's ethical and moral "can't helps." It does not particularly advance our understanding of the nature of the judicial process to emphasize, as does Mr. Biddle, that in the largest philosophical sense, Holmes rejected all absolutes, and claimed for his "can't helps" only temporal, not cosmic validity. For some, no doubt for most, he would go further and claim only personal validity; but not for all, as Mr. Biddle rather suggests, else he could not have functioned as a judge.

Mr. Biddle ends with an exercise that is the classic disservice by the living to the great men of the past. He resurrects Holmes, places him on the present Court, and without further ado puts him to work deciding current cases. How, Mr. Biddle asks, would Holmes decide the case of a government employee who had been dismissed as disloyal in a proceeding in which the government relied on secret evidence? "I suggest that Holmes – being a first-rate legal craftsman – would have tackled the problem by first taking a look at the Constitution" There is, happily, in this respect, no difference between first- and second-rate legal craftsmen, as the Constitution provides no answer. Mr. Biddle has one, however. He thinks that such a proceeding – however unwise – is "civil" rather than "criminal," that the right to confront one's accusers applies only in criminal prosecutions, and that the government of the United States, like other employers, may hire and fire as it pleases. These views are made Holmes'. Not only that, but: "Holmes, if he were today a member of the Supreme Court, would have sided more often with Justice Frankfurter and Justice Harlan than with the 'liberal' members of the Court." It needs to be added only, on the basis of the decided case, that if Holmes had taken this position on these general grounds, Frankfurter, at least, would not likely have "sided" with him. But then, perhaps Holmes would not have sided with Biddle.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Samuel Shapiro *is the author of the controversial essay, "Cuba: A Dissenting Report" (NR, September 12, 1960).* Alexander M. Bickel *is the author of* The Unpublished Opinions of Mr. Justice Brandeis.

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JULES FEIFFER

LIKE EVERYBODY ELSE I WAS A SOCIALIST WHEN I WAS IN COLLEGE DURING THE TWENTIES -
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"OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT!"

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"UP THE C.I.O."

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"UNITED FRONT"
"FREE EARL BROWDER"
"JAIL THE TROTSKYITES."

I WAS A DUPE DURING THE FIFTIES - "BUT I DIDN'T REALIZE-"
"THEY USED ME-"
"I'LL NEVER SIGN ANYTHING AGAIN-"

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11-5

AND NOW IN THE SIXTIES I'M A CONSERVATIVE -
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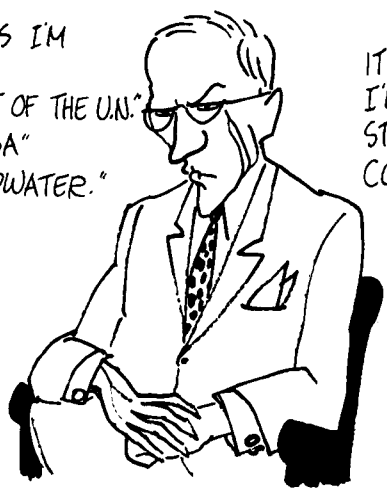

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THEATER

Down Among the Dead Men

Purlie Victorious, by Ossie Davis
(Cort Theater)
Sail Away, by Noel Coward
(Broadhurst Theater)
How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying
Book by Abe Burrows, Jack Weinstock, and Willie Gilbert
Music by Frank Loesser
(46th Street Theater)
From the Second City (Royale Theater)
A Shot in the Dark, by Marcel Achard
(Booth Theater)
Kamina
Book by Robert Alan Aurthur
Music by Richard Adler
(54th Street Theater)

Broadway is now the most active corpse in America. Everyone knows perfectly well it's been stone-dead for over ten years. Yet, it still continues to kick, jerk, shake, quiver, shiver, and twitch, as though these self-perpetuating post-mortem spasms could somehow be mistaken for some kind of vestigial vitality. In spite of the staggering expense of these affairs, the dance of death proceeds at a frenzied rate. Every week, six to eight new victims arrive at the memorial chapels – hundreds more, from all reports, are lining up out of town, clamoring for admittance – waiting to be eulogized by the daily obituary writers who compose their faces and their epitaphs with a sympathetic sang-froid worthy of the most experienced undertakers. In New York, hordes of mourners file by the biers, still anxious to pay their respects to cadavers which show the slightest sign of life (Whim! bang! flip), while the more lifeless carcasses (whoosh! bink! flop!) are hauled off to the boneyard, unattended by family or friends. Feeling a little like Vergil among the shades, let me lead you through the cavernous regions to the dear- and near-departed, with the faith that neither ye nor I will abandon hope upon entering this dark sanctuary.

Purlie Victorious: Ossie Davis' farce-fantasy about plantation Negroes has set back inter-racial harmony, by my calculations, about fourteen years. By way of novelty, the author has replaced White stereotypes of Negroes with Negro ones; but I must say that the hate and violence seething under the shut-my-mouf benevolence of these cardboard caricatures really gave me a start (I prefer hostility in the open, as in *The Blacks*). So did their relentless racial chauvinism, a quality which Davis apparently finds charming among the Southern colored but absolutely insufferable in Southern whites. During the verse epilogue – intoned by the hero, a revivalist preacher whose only scripture is the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence – the spectators were solemnly enjoined to remain loyal to their black skins. The white audience responded to this appeal with a touching enthusiasm, donning their minks and chesterfields and returning home under a halo of goodwill, no doubt to abuse the colored maid. If he values his cause, Mr. Davis – who is an excellent actor (the *whole* cast, and especially Sorrell Booke and Ruby Dee, are excellent) – will forcibly restrain himself in future from writing plays about it.

Sail Away: Noel Coward's new musical comedy has been dismissed for being 30 years behind the times. Since this brings it back to a period when Broadway entertainment was still vigorous, I think I now understand its surprising liveliness. Except for two dreary love plots, Coward's satire on cruise life, revolving around a ship's hostess beset by obnoxious tourists, is continuously and vitriolically amusing. One episode in the Ship's Nursery, called "The Little One's ABC," is rather like looking at one of those cute-as-buttons-children-learning-their-lessons scenes, introduced into musicals by Rodgers and Hammerstein, through the murderous optics of W. C. Fields. The comedy is roguish, the songs stylish, the dances modish, and the leading part superlatively played by an electric dynam-

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ism named Elaine Stritch.

How To Succeed in Business Without Really Trying: This satire on American business takes a courageous stand against sexy secretaries, office parties, and coffee breaks. An account of a young man's rise to the top through practicing commercial one-upmanship, the musical's pusillanimous approach to its subject has the effect of glamorizing corporation life. But then, as Brecht observed, why should Broadway audiences pay for their own extinction. Taken as pure entertainment, the book is flat until the second act (when it takes off amusingly on TV), and Frank Loesser's music is consistently disappointing. But Bob Fosse's soft shoe routines are fine, and Abe Burrows, the most gifted talent working in musicals, has directed a first-rate cast: Charles Nelson Reilly as Frump, a brilliant sketch of a limp-wristed Machiavel; Robert Morse as Horatio Alger, sometimes too nervously ingratiating, but generally peppy and likeable; and Rudy Vallee as the Boss, playing his old self with easy stiffness, the archetypal square.

From the Second City: A satirical revue from Chicago which I suspect is now the First City as far as comic intelligence is concerned. Improvising low-pressured sketches on American life and character which are always promising and sometimes brilliant, the young cast is filled with that jaded enthusiasm which bespeaks their U. of Chicago origins and training. To bring this recherché group to Broadway I find an act of unspeakable courage.

A Shot in the Dark: A sex farce from France about a promiscuous parlormaid unjustly accused of shooting her Spanish lover – almost as trenchant as the *Esquire Bedside Companion.* The play is a boring three-act catechism – a handsome examining magistrate pulling scandalous admissions from an unwilling but uninhibited servant – during which the audience is titillated by the apparently hilarious implications of the sexual vocabulary: *bed* (titters, giggles, sniggers); *nakedness* (roars, guffaws); *breasts* (whistles, cheers, pandemonium). If you are interested in controlled comic acting, watch Walter Matthau as a long-winded polysyllabic banker; if you are interested in a monotonous display of self-conscious incandescence, watch Julie Harris, wildly miscast as the maid, and unably abetted by a wildly uneven cast.

Kwamina: There has been some controversy in the press over whether the title of this musical about West African independence means "Born on Sunday" (the preference of the authors) or "Born on Saturday," (the opinion of their Ghanian technical advisor). Since the work was born in Monday and should have died on Tuesday, the question is academic except to suggest how dearly the authors value accuracy. Agnes de Mille's authentic ethnic dances are straight from the Latin Quarter; Richard Adler's authentic native melodies are from Tin Pan Alley, *The Sound of Music,* and *My Fair Lady;* Robert Lewis' authentic staging is from *Carmen Jones;* and Robert Alan Aurthur's authentic story is from the US Steel Hour. I was interested to learn from this musical that the great debate among West Africans is between the Conservatives (who practice ancestor worship and human sacrifice) and the Liberals (who value "new ideas" like penicillin and miscegenation); and that their love of freedom is closely identified with introducing movies, plays, symphony orchestras, and hourly TV news programs into the country. Staggering clumsily between ponderous ritual and endless exposition, *Kwamina* has the single virtue of giving employment to a large number of gifted Negro singers and dancers; but their half-hearted commitment to their jobs shows that man cannot live by bread alone.

ROBERT BRUSTEIN

NEXT WEEK

Fall Book Review

Essays, poems, and reviews by

Irving Howe — Victor Lange
Richmond Lattimore
Arthur Schlesinger Jr.
Delmore Schwartz
William Jay Smith — Honor Tracy
and others

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Correspondence

Escape from the Bomb

Sirs:

"Escape from the Bomb" (September 4), our attempt to put the nuclear threat into emotionally meaningful perspective, has been repeatedly mistaken for a recommendation to flee. Although we maintain that it would be rational for the *isolated* individual to flee, we cannot, as psychiatrists, recommend a political or philosophical position or course of action.

We might have made clearer that in order to face the nuclear threat people who stay must take action which they believe can be effective in reducing the threat. It appears that this has to be organized, political action. Our own choices of action we make as citizens, not as psychiatrists. For those who are interested, we feel – again as informed citizens, not as professionals – that the UN, including all nations, must be strengthened as a basis for world law and loyalty to mankind; that all persons must take responsibility for the consequences of their actions, and inaction, upon society; and that long-range planning must be done to make peace possible, from tension reduction in non-military areas to universal disarmament with concomitant development of technics for the non-violent resolution of conflict.

We do not encourage people to leave, but to stay and help make our land a place unthreatened by destruction. Our article was an effort to contribute to sanity, and we hope it might to some extent have served as an antidote to the self-defeating efforts of Americans to shelter themselves from the realities of our age.

Lester Grinspoon, M.D.
E. James Lieberman, M.D.
Cambridge, Mass.

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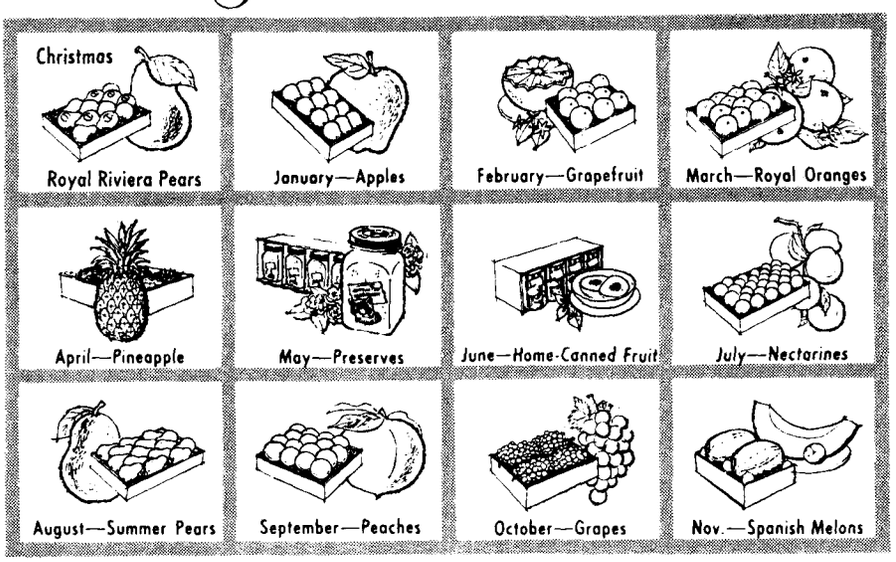

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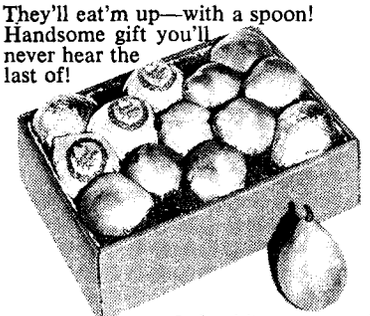

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TV: The Programming Problem

Sirs:

Your note on "TV Censorship" (October 16) correctly points out that sponsors exercise program censorship in television. And this is something to deplore. But I think governmental supervision of programming is equally deplorable. Would we accept also an edict that newspapers file with the government a balanced space-schedule?

The standard rationale for treating broadcasting differently rests on two points: (1) broadcasters are licensed while newspapers are not: and (2) the small number of program initiators, mainly the three networks. Regarding the first, I would simply point out that licensing was adopted in response to the technological problem of crowded channels, *not* as a basis for program supervision. As for the limited number of outlets, it might equally well be said that UP and AP are the Gutenberg equivalents of the networks.

Concern for the quality of broadcasting should not take priority over the even more basic value of free speech and freedom of the press. To maximize both values, we should (1) expand the use of UHF channels to increase the number of outlets, and (2) establish an *alternative network*, either through voluntary subscription, foundation subsidy, or a governmental corporation on the BBC model.

Michael D. Reagan
Syracuse University

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